משרד החוץ
מחלקת הקשר

מברק נכנס - מסווג

בל המוסר תובן מסמך זה, בולו או מקצתו לאדם שאינו מוסמך לכך — עובר על החוק לתיקון דיני העונשין (בטחון המדינה יחסי־חוץ וסודות רשמיים), תשי"ז — 1957.

דף מספר 1 מתוך 6 דפים
עותק מספר 1 מתוך 10 עותקים

סודי ביותר

אל: המשרד
מאת: וושינגטון

מס 315
נשלח 211800 יולי 77

בהול

משרד ראש הממשלה
לשכת מנכ"ל
- צילום מסמך מסווג -
מרשה זו רועתקו 1 עותקים נוספים
ההעתקה אושרה ע"י נדב ?גה
תאריך העתקה 24.7.77
העתק זה ניקבל מספר ....
ירשם ביומן דף .... שורה ....

בועז.
אל שר החוץ.
למנ.בלבד.

SECOND FULL MEETING BETWEEN PRESIDENT CARTER AND PRIME MINISTER BEGIN, THE CABINET ROOM.
THE WHITE HOUSE, JULY 20,1977,10:00 A.M.

THE PRESIDENT: I AM GLAD YOU FINALLY GOT SOME REST. YESTERDAY MUST HAVE BEEN STRENOUS FOR YOU. I PARTICULARLY APPRECIATED THE BOOKS YOU GAVE ME LAST NIGHT. I WROTE A BOOK MYSELF, NOT AS GOOD AS YOURS,WHICH I WOULD LIKE TO PRESENT TO YOU. ALSO I WOULD LIKE YOU TO HAVE THIS BOOK WHICH CONTAINS SATELLITE PHOTOGRAPHS OF THE WORLD.

P.M.: I THANK YOU MR. PRESIDENT FOR YOUR VERY WARM DEDICATION IN THE BOOK. I HAVE READ YOUR BOOK AND I'LL READ IT AGAIN.

PRESIDENT: THIS MORNING WE HAVE AN OPPORTUNITY TO SUM UP WHAT HAS OCCURRED IN THE COURSE OF OUR TALKS. LAST NIGHT WE HAD AN OPPORTUNITY TO DISCUSS THE AGENDA OF THE PEOPLE OF THE WORLD. I WANT TO EXPRESS MY GRATITUDE. WE WANT TO BE SURE THAT TO THE PRESS AND THE PUBLIC WE EMPHASIZE THE POSITIVE ASPECTS OF OUR MEETINGS. WE HAVE,OBVIOUSLY,SOME DIFFERENCES. WE HAVE TO OVERCOME SOME PROBLEMS OF SIGNIFICANCE. OUR OWN SECURITY IS DEEPY INVOLVED WITH THE SECURITY OF THE MIDDLE EAST. OUR TIES WITH ISRAEL ARE IRREVOCABLE AND STRONG AND THE POSSIBILITY OF A WORLD WIDE DISRUPTION IF WAR WERE TO BREAK OUT IN THE MIDDLE EAST IS A PARAMOUNT CONSIDERATION. IT IS A RESPONSIBILITY WE SHARE, WITH YOU AND WESTERN EUROPE. WE SHALL BE ACTIVE TO TRY AND BRING THE PARTIES IN DISPUTE TOGETHER AT THE GENEVA CONFERENCE.
ALL THE OPINIONS WHICH YOU HAVE EXPRESSED ARE CONDUCIVE TO THE RECONVENING OF THE GENEVA CONFERENCE. THIS IS ENCOURAGING. WHEN THE SEC. OF STATE SEES THE ARAB LEADERS HE WILL TAKE WITH HIM AN ENCOURAGING FOUNDATION.
THE QUESTION OF A SINGLE DELEGATION- AS SOME ARABS WANT- OR INDIVIDUAL DELEGATIONS COULD BE DEVISIVE. I THINK THIS CAN RESOLVED - ALTHOUGH I AM NOT SURE- BY OUR CALL TO THE SOVIET UNION AS CO-CHAIRMAN TO MEET FIRST IN JOINT SESSION AND THEN DIVIDE INTO STUDY GROUPS.I THINK THIS IS AN ACCEPTABLE APPROACH.

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דף מספר 2 מתוך 6 דפים

עותק מספר 5 מתוך 10 עותקים

סודי ביותר

YOUR SUGGESTION IS QUITE GOOD.
OBVIOUSLY, IF WE ARE TALKING ABOUT GENEVA IN OCTOBER THEN THERE WILL BE A LOT OF DETAILS TO BE CONCLUDED. SECRETARY VANCE AND THE PRIME MINISTER DISCUSSED YESTERDAY THE PROCEDURAL QUESTION AND IT WAS SUGGESTED THAT WHEN YOURS AND THE OTHER FOREIGN MINISTERS COME TO THE UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY IN SEPTEMBER WE WILL TRY AND IRON OUT THE REMAINING DIFFICULTIES TO BRING THE PARTIES TO THE CONFERENCE ITSELF. THIS IS A GOOD SUGGESTION. MY BELIEF IS THAT THEY MAY ACCEPT THIS SUGGESTION.

VANCE: I THINK THEY PROBABLY WOULD.

THE PRESIDENT: ONE OF THE REMAINING OBSTACLES CONCERNS THE PALESTINIAN REPRESENTATION. THERE ARE SEVERAL OPTIONS THAT CAN BE PURSUED SOME WERE DISCUSSED IN THIS ROOM YESTERDAY AND THE PRIME MINISTER AND I DISCUSSED THEM AGAIN LAST NIGHT. ONE POSIBILITY IS THAT PALESTINIANS BE PART OF THE JORDANIAN DELEGATION. THE OTHER IS THAT WHEN THE REFUGEE ISSUE IS DISCUSSED THEY WILL JOIN.
AS FAR AS THE PRINCIPLES WHICH WE HAD SUGGESTED ARE CONCERNED WE HAVE COME TO A SATISFACTORY UNDERSTANDING ON FOUR PRINCIPLES. THERE IS A DISAGREEMENT ON THE FIFTH PRINCIPLE. WE HAVE A DIFFERENCE OF OPINION ON THE PALESTINIAN QUESTION.
THE ARAB OPINIONS EXPRESSED TO US IN PRIVATE CONVERSATION ARE UNACCEPTABLE TO ISRAEL AND I HAVE TO SAY THAT THE ISRAEL POSITION ON WITHDRAWAL AND THE PALESTINIAN QUESTION IS NOT ACCEPTABLE TO THE ARABS. THESE ARE QUESTIONS THAT HAVE TO BE RESOLVED IN NEGOTIATIONS WITH YOUR NEIGHBORS. WE SHALL HELP IN ANY WAY WE CAN WITHOUT TRYING TO IMPOSE OUR WILL. I HOPE THAT ONCE THE CONFERENCE STARTS YOU WILL GET TO KNOW EACH OTHER AND ASCERTAIN YOUR POSITIONS.
THERE IS ONE OTHE QUESTION. IT IS THIS: ALL THE NATIONS AND LEADERS INVOLVED IN GENEVA-INCLUDING OURSELVES- YOU HERE, THE ARAB LEADERS AND, WE TOO, HAVE MADE STRONG STATEMENTS IN THE PAST OF A CONTROVERSIAL NATURE. I WOULD HOPE THAT UNTIL GENEVA CONVENES RESTRAINT WILL PREVAIL IN WHAT WE CAN ACCEPT AND CANNOT ACCEPT.
WE MUST ALL GO TO GENEVA WITH AN OPEN MIND. LAST NIGHT I AGREED WITH THE PRIME MINISTER- FOR EXAMPLE- THAT WE WOULD NOT REPEAT THE TERM ''MINOR MODIFICATIONS''. I WOULD USE SUCH A PHRASE AGAIN ONLY AFTER CAREFUL CONSULTATION WITH THE PRIME MINISTER. WE HAVE ALREADY ASKED ASSAD, HUSSEIN AND SADAT TO RESTRAIN THEIR REMARKS.
I THINK IT IS ACCURATE TO SAY THAT THEY HAVE RESPONDED WELL. OF COURSE I DONT WANT TO IMPLY THAT THEY HAVE GIVEN UP THEIR BASIC HOPES OR POSITIONS.
THE LAST POINT I HAD LIKE TO MAKE IS THAT I WILL ACCOMMODAT YOUR REQUEST TO CONTACT BREZHNEV AGAIN ABOUT THE QUESTION OF

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דף מספר 3 מתוך 6 דפים

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סודי ביותר

EMIGRATION FROM RUSSIA.
THE PRIME MINISTER: MAY I HAND YOU, MR PRESIDENT, THE LIST OF PRISONERS OF CONSCIENCE IN RUSSIA. (THE P.M. HANDS THE PRESIDENT THE LIST).
THE PRESIDENT: I AM GOINGTO DO IT VERY QUIETLY SO THAT IF HE COMPLIES HE WONT BE EMBARRASSED. IF HE AGREES TO LET ALL OF THEM GO OR SOME OF THEM GO HE CAN ANNOUNCE IT AS HE SEES BEST.
P.R.: I THANK YOU, MR. PRESIDENT.
THE PRESIDENT: I THINK ICAN SAY NOW THAT WE ENJOY THE SUBSTANTIAL CONFIDENCE OF OUR PEOPLES. THERE ARE MANY DEGREES OF FLEXIBILITY IN THE ATTITUDES OF OUR PEOPLES. WE CAN LEAD THE AMERICANS AND ISRAELIS TO AN ACCEPTANCE OF AGREED PRINCIPLES WHICH IN THE PAST WERE DIFFICULT. YOU HAVE DEMONSTRATED SUPERB LEADERSHIP AND COURAGE IN HELPING TO ESTABLISH THE NATION OF ISRAEL. NOW I THINK THAT MORE THAN ANY HUMAN BEINGS YOU AND I HAVE THE CHANCE TO PERPETUATE FOR OVER A THOUSAND YEARS THE RIGHT OF ISRAEL TO LIVE IN PEACE. I THINK THE PEOPLE OF ISRAEL ARE READY TO ACCEPT THE PROPOSITION THAT AN ACCORD WITH THE ARABS IS FEASIBLE.
MR. PRIME MINISTER, IF YOU WOULD FEEL THE DESIRE TO TELEPHONE ME, OR TO CORRESPOND WITH ME PRIVATELY, I WILL CONSIDER IT AN HONOR. I WOULD LIKE TO FEEL I CAN DO THE SAME WITH YOU. IF I MAKE SOME STATEMENT THAT YOU THINK YOU WANT TO COMMENT UPON, PLEASE BE IN DIRECT TOUCH WITH ME AND I WILL BE IN TOUCH WITH YOU.
WE CANNOT ESPOUSE THE POSITION OF ISRAEL. WE CAN ONLY BRING YOU AND THE ARAB NATIONS INTO AGREEMENT IF WE HAVE TRUST ON ALL FRONTS. WE WONT REVEAL YOUR CONFIDENCES, JUST AS WE DONT REVEAL THEIRS.
THESE ARE SOME OF THE COMMENTS IN SUMMARY I WISHED TO MAKE. THIS IS MY INTERPRETATION OF OUR TALKS.
THE P.M.: THANK YOU MR. PRESIDENT. I THINK NOW WE HAVE A GREAT MEASURE OF UNDERSTANDING AND AGREEMENT. I WILL NOW TRY AND ENUMERATE ON WHAT WE HAVE AGREED.
ONE: A NEW AND ADDITIONAL SESSION OF THE GENEVA CONFERENCE SHOULD BE CONVENED IN OCTOBER.
TWO: WE AGREED THAT AFTER THE OPENING SESSION AN INSTRUMENT BE CREATED TO WROK ON PEACE TREATIES BETWEEN THE SIDES. THESE SHOULD BE MIXED COMMISSIONS UNDER ROTATING CHARIMANSHIPS.
THREE: THE GOAL OF THE NEGOTIATIONS SHOULD BE THE CONCLUSION OF PEACE TREATIES. THERE WILL BE FOUR PEACE TREATIES INCLUDING LEBANON THAT WILL PUT AN END TO THE STATE OF WAR AND SART AN EAR OF NORMAL PEACE.
FOUR: IF THERE WILL BE DIFFICULTIES TO RECONVENE THE GENEVA CONFERENCE UNDER THE ''APPROPRIATE AUSPICES'' OF 338 LINKED TO 242 WE SHOULD LOOK FOR ALTERNATIVE WAYS HOW TO PROMOTE THE MOMENTUM FOR THIS PURPOSE. WE MADE TWO SUGGESTION.
ONE: UNDER THE GOOD OFFICES OF THE US GOVERNMENT WE SHALL BRING

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ABOUT THE AFOREMENTIONED MIXED COMMISSIONS BY DIPLOMATIC MEANS. TWO: THE OTHER ALTERNATIVE IS THROUGH PROXIMITY TALKS. THESE PROPOSALS ARE NOT MERELY A MATTER OF FORM, THEY ARE SUBSTANCE. I BELIEVE WE HAVE A LARGE MEASURE OF AGREEMENT ON THIS. WE ARE GRATEFUL. IT IS DUE IN LARGE MEASURE TO THE ATTITUDE OF THE PRESIDENT.

THE FOREIGN MINISTER WILL BE IN NEW YORK IN SEPTEMBER FOR THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE UN. THE PRESIDENT HAS KINDLY AGREED TO RECEIVE OUR EXTREMELY ABLE FOREIGN MINISTER DAYAN AT THAT TIME. ALSO, SECRETARY VANCE WILL VISIT THE MIDDLE EAST AND HE HAS GRACIOUSLY AGREED TO GO FIRST TO THE ARAB COUNTIRES AND THEN COME TO US. THIS WILL PROVIDE US WITH ENOUGH TIME TO PREPARE CONCRETE DOCUMENTS. SO, IN THE NEXT FEW WEKS AND MONTHS WE SHALL KEEP UP THE MOMENTUM. LET US HOPE THERE WILL BE RESPONSES FROM THE OTHER SIDE. THERE SHOULD BE A RESPONSE BECAUSE WE DONT EXCLUDE ANYTHING, IT IS A FREE NEGOTIATION.

NOW, THIS AFTERNOON, I AM HOLDING A PRESS CONFERENCE. IN REPLY TO ALL QUESTIONS PUT TO ME ON THE TERRITORIAL ISSUE AT THE PRESS CONFERENCE I WILL SAY THIS IS PART OF THE NEGOTIATIONS AT GENEVA. I SHALL NOT ELABORATE. EVERYBODY IS ENTITLED TO BRING HIS PRPOSALS WITHOUT PRIOR CONDITIONS. THE NEWSPAPERMEN WILL PRESS ME BUT I WILL PROBABLY WITHSTAND THE PRESSURE, BELIEVE ME.

LET US ALL MEET AT GENEVA WITH OPEN MINDS. I THINK IT IS IMPORTANT THAT THE INSTRUMENTALITY HAS BEEN ELABORATED UPON ABOUT THE OPENING SESSION OF THE GENEVA CONFERENCE AND THE MIXED COMMISSIONS.

MR. PRESIDENT, WHEN I COME HOME I WILL TAKE UP IMMEDIATELY WITH MY COLLEAGUES THE MATTER OF THE OVERFLIGHTS OVER SAUDI ARABIA. WE SHALL TRY AND FIND A WAY OF ACCOMODATING YOU.

I HAVE TO HAVE THE OPINION OF THE DEFENSE MINISTER. BUT I ASSURE YOU WE WILL TRY AND COMPLY WITH YOUR REQUEST.

PRESIDENT: IF WE CAN GET YOUR REPLY BEFORE SECRETARY VANCE GOES TO SAUDI ARABIA IT WILL BE HELPFUL.

PRIME MINISTER: I HOPE THAT BY THE WEEK FOLLOWING MY RETURN, SAY THURSDAY NEXT, I WILL HAVE OUR REPLY.

I HOPE, MR. PRESIDENT, YOU HAD A CHANCE TO READ THE DOCUMENT I LEFT WITH YOU YESTERDAY (CONCERNING ISRAEL'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE US NATIONAL SECURITY).

THE PRESIDENT: (FAVORABLY) YES. I DID.

THE PRIME MINISTER: WE SHALL GO ON HELPING YOU IN ANY WAY WE CAN. MR. PRESIDENT, ONE FURTHER MATTER. I SPOKE YESTERDAY TO THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE. I BROUGHT TO HIS ATTENTION OUR

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REQUIREMENTS CONCERNING OUR DEFENSE POSTURE. HE PROMISED THAT BEFORE I LEAVE SOME REPLIES MIGHT BE GIVEN. I KNOW, MR. PRESIDENT, THAT YOU WILL ALWAYS WORK TO SEE A STRONG ISRAEL. I REMEMBER VERY WELL WHAT YOU SAID CONCERNING THE PERIOD OF THE ''REASSESSMENT'', IF YOU CAN TAKE A DECISION OR SEVERAL DECISIONS ON THE MATTER IT WILL BE GOOD TIDINGS FROM WASHINGTON TO ISRAEL. IT IS VERY IMPORTANT FOR THE MORALE OF OUR PEOPLE- THE FEELING THAT WE ARE WORKING TOGETHER AND THAT OUR STRENGHT IS NOT BEING ERODED.

THE PRESIDENT: I HOPE TO BE ABLE THROUGH CY(VANCE) TO GIVE YOU THE INFORMATION THIS AFTERNOON.

PRIME MINISTER: I HOPE WE CAN AGREE THAT AT THE PRESS CONFERENCE I CAN SAY THAT OUR RELATIONS ARE CORDIAL, THAT THERE IS FRIENDSHIP, NO CONFRONTATION

THE PRESIDENT: ABSOLUTELY.

PRIME MINISTER: AND THEN I'LL ADD WHAT I FEEL FOR YOU.

THE PRESIDENT: I THANK YOU.

TERE ARE JUST TWO BRIEF COMMENTS. IF YOU WILL MENTION THE UN RESOLUTIONS 242 AND 338 IT WILL BE HELPFUL. AND ALSO, YOU HAVE MY COMMITMENT NOTTO USE THE TERM ''MINOR MODIFICATIONS'' PUBLICLY. BUT I ASK YOU NOT TO MENTION THIS PUBLICLY. CONCERNING THE MILITARY REQUESTS, I'LL GET TOGETHER WITH BRZEZINSKI AND VANCE AS SOON AS THEY ARE FREE, TO GO OVER THE REQUESTS.

DINITZ: ONE POIT IF I MAY, MR. PRESIDENT. WE ARE OF COURSE, THANKFUL AND APPRECIATIVE FOR THE ECOMONIC AND MILITARY AID PROVIDED OVER THE YEARS. THERE IS, HOWEVER, A SERIOUS QUESTION WHICH I WOULD LIKE TO RAISE. AFTER THE SINAI TWO AGREEMENT WE HAD TALKED WITH THE USG AND AGREED UPON LONG RANGE MILITARY SUPPLY RELATIONSHIP WHICH WAS BASED ON 1.5 BILLION DOLLARS ANNUAL APPROPRIATIONS. AS YOU KNOW MR. PRESIDENT, THE 1976 AND 1977 APPROPRIATIONS AMOUNTED TO ONE BILLION DOLLARS. YOUR DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE AND OURSELVES AGREE THAT THIS AMOUNT IS NOT SUFFICIENT TO COVER THE ACTUAL NEEDS. WE WOULD THEREFORE APPRECIATE IT DEEPLY IF YOU WOULD CONSIDER TO RECCOMEND THE ADDITIONAL AMOUNT FOR THE COMING FISCAL YEAR.

THE PRESIDENT: I'LL LOOK INTO IT(TURNING TO THE US AMBASSADOR) WELL, MR. AMBASSADOR. HOW DO THINGS LOOK TO YOU?

THE US AMBASSADOR: I THINK IT HAS BEEN A SPLENDID MEETING-BETTER THAN I HAD HOPED.

PRIME MINISTER: WE SHALL WORK TOGETHER WITH YOUR AMBASSADOR WITH FULL CONFIDENCE.

THE PRESIDENT: (TO VANCE) HAVE WE ANYTHING NEW ON THE ETHIOPIAN QUESTION?

VANCE: WE HAVE NOTHING NEW. WE HAVE TO LOOK INTO IT VERY CAREFLYY-

THE PRESIDENT: WE HAVE INFORMATION OF A SOVIET COMMITMENT FOR WEAPONS TO THE ETHIPIANS.

PRIME MINISTER: SO WE SHALL KEEP IN TOUCH ON THE MATTER.

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סודי ביותר

THE PRESIDENT: WE HAVE OBSERVED A BUILD- UP OF BORDER CLASHES BETWEEN EGYPT AND LIBYA IN THE LAST 24 HOURS.
PRIME MINISTER: SO HAVE WE.
THE PRESIDENT: MR. PRIME MINISTER, DO YOU FIND OUR PEACE KEEPING MISSION IN THE SINAI ADEQUATE?
PRIME MINISTER: VERY ADEQUATE, MR PRESIDENT.
THE PRESIDENT: I'M GRATIFIED. I WANT TO EXPRESS AGAIN MY PERSONAL FEELING FOR YOU. I THINK THE RELATIONSHIP IS ONE OF WHICH WE CAN BUILD REAL PROGRESS. I AM VERY PROUD.
THE PRIME MINISTER: I THANK YOU, MR. PRESIDENT. THESE DAYS IN WASHINGTON ARE GOOD DAYS.
(THE MEETING ADJOURNED AT 10:50 AM)

AVNER-BAR ON-

שפת מנכ"ל